

of the sugar planters of Louisiana below this point, and of those of Texas and Florida. We assert what we know. The opinion is not only general, but unanimous, that without Cuba all will be lost—with her, better times will come, and the labor of the husbandman receive adequate reward.

"The reasons for this conclusion are irresistible. Stop the slave trade, and you have the best tariff for the protection of your sugar industry, and you have the best tariff for the protection of your sugar industry, and you have the best tariff for the protection of your sugar industry."

## WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 12, 1854.

### NEW SUBSCRIBERS.

It is not this a good time to secure new subscribers to the *Era* and similar papers? By disseminating through Anti-Slavery principles among the masses, now aroused against the Slave Power, by the Nebraska outrage, shall we not perpetuate their Anti-Slavery feelings, and make their present historical movement, a permanent one?

### THE AGENT OF THE ERA IN BOSTON.

Having received such explanation as we deem sufficient, we hereby authorize Mr. Geo. W. Liberty to act again as agent for the *National Era* in Boston and its neighborhood. Mr. Liberty has been receiving for a year or six months pay always in advance, according to our terms. The paper will be forwarded, as usual, by mail.

### HERBERT'S STORY, AT LAST.

This week we commence the publication, from the beginning, of Herbert's long-omitted story. It will be seen that the few chapters we republished, have been revised, and, in some respects, changed, and that the title is also modified. We shall proceed with the publication till completed, having all the manuscript in hand.

Mr. Leonard Ward is still absent. The installment due, was probably sent by the Arctic, now nineteen days out, and not yet heard from.

### RIGHTS OF NATURALIZED CITIZENS.—KNOW NOTHINGS.

When first the foreign population in this country became so large that it could be used in political contests, demagogues and partisans began to play their art to make it subservient to party or personal ends. The Democrat wanted his superior regard for the rights of naturalized citizens, and the Whig, not to be outdone, spoke to the same effect. In one place, the German, in another, the Irish, became the objects of special attention and regard. They were addressed as distinct classes: it was assumed that they had interests and claims separate from those of other citizens; their prejudices were appealed to; their pride was fostered, and they were taught to feel that by maintaining a distinct political existence, they secured consideration and influence. In this way were ideas of nationality and feelings of clanishness among our naturalized citizens cherished by native demagogues.

The evil grew, until in some localities, where the foreign element was strongest, the spirit of the native-born citizens, was alarmed and irritated, and some of them formed a political combination for the purpose of the naturalization laws, as a means of the period of inchoate citizenship. Native Americanism was in fact the offspring of Native Demagoguism. The latter, to serve personal or party purposes, had fostered foreign combinations; the former got up native combinations in opposition.

But, this policy only aggravated the mischief. It failed to command the approbation of the majority of native-born citizens, while its direct tendency was to intensify the spirit of clanishness among our naturalized citizens, and deepen the feeling of separate interests.

Meantime, Demagoguism continued to practice its art; each of the old parties pretended to special friendship for the poor immigrants, and charged its antagonists with secret hostility to the poor. The result was, that the naturalized population saw that maintaining distinct political organizations, could further their own schemes of personal advancement; and some of them began to imagine that they could control the destinies of the country.

The mischief was soon aggravated by the intrusion of a religious element. Archbishop Hughes and the order of the Jesuits undertook the task, first of excluding the Bible from the Common Schools, and then of breaking down the policy of denominational schools, to be supported by separate appropriations from the State, if reported also by Governmental action. For the accomplishment of this task, they relied chiefly upon the Irish Catholics, and hence they bent all their efforts to protect the feelings of that class with their citizens, and to preserve the sentiment of Irish nationality. To the disgust of our politics, this was against the Common School system, was favored in some of the States by native demagogues. There were not wanting Whig politicians in New York, who pretended to think the reading of the Bible in the Public Schools a violation of the rights of conscience of our Catholic fellow-citizens, when they knew that all pretext for such a charge could be taken away, by not requiring any child to attend at prayers or reading, unless permitted to do so by its parents.

In other States, Democratic politicians were found mean enough to bag for Irish Catholics votes, by declaring themselves in favor of the system of separate denominational schools. While this struggle was going on, Kosciuszko landed on our shores, and, whatever else may be said of his visit, it must be admitted that his action tended to foster a policy among our naturalized Germans, not favorable to their fusion with the native population. He appealed to them as Germans, rather than American citizens, as interested rather in the affairs of Europe than of the United States. He called upon them, as a distinct political class, to give an independent support to one or the other of the parties, just as it might stand affected on the question of intervention in foreign affairs.

While his course was calculated to keep up the sentiment of German nationality, the intervention of Archbishop Hughes to counteract the effect of his teachings, will further attest to the sentiment of Irish nationality. The Catholics, especially the Irish Catholics, were put on their guard against German Red Republicanism and Infidelity, taught to distrust the liberal movements of Europe, to withhold all sympathy from the Cause of Revolution, and take sides with the Despotism of Austria, in its attempts to crush out the spirit of liberty in Italy and Central Europe. The most ultra doctrines in regard to despotism and priestly domination were put forth in the columns of the *Jesuit press*; and the effect was twofold: the Irish Catholics became more and more a peculiar and an isolated people, and an intolerant antagonism to them was aroused among native-born Americans.

Out of these elements of evil thus engendered, by native, naturalized, itinerant, and priestly demagoguism, has sprung into existence the new organization of the Know Nothings—an organization which has derived as much consequence from the sympathy of "outsiders" with its main object, as from the activity of its adherents.

It is unfair to attempt to identify the new Party with any political organization. It is composed of recruits from all Parties, and regarded with tolerance or favor by many who consider it merely temporary, and do not choose to connect themselves with it. Some think it may succeed in abating the mischief resulting in certain localities from alien combinations or Jesuitical intermeddling, and put an end to that demagoguism which has given birth to these evils: some hope that it may powerfully conciliate with other causes in breaking up political Parties: some regard with great complacency its effective opposition to the Administration, charged with pandering to foreign and Catholic influences.

It has spread into all the States, but is most active in the cities. It boasts of its numerous municipal victories, claims to hold the balance of power in several of the States, and in some proposes to nominate independent candidates. In some places, if the public is not misinformed, scheming politicians have joined the new order for the purpose of advancing their own interests, or making it auxiliary to other parties with which they are connected.

On the subject of Slavery, we presume it has no creed or policy. In Massachusetts and New York "they say" that it is Anti-Slavery in its feelings, and yet in New York its action has not confirmed its reputation: and we suppose it would be equally untrue to say that the Know Nothings who carried the elections in Norfolk, Va., Memphis, Tenn., and voted against Mr. Benton in St. Louis, were any other than pro-slavery men. In this city, a few Anti-Slavery men may belong to the organization, but the majority are pro-slavery. The National organ, which is to be started here in November, adopts substantially the Baltimore platform in relation to Slavery, pledging resistance to the agitation of the question, and the editor, Mr. Vespasian Ellis, a native of Vermont, but long a resident in the South, is a slaveholder and pro-slavery man.

The readers of the *National Era* can hardly doubt our position in regard to this new organization.

In the first place, it is a secret political order. In despot countries, where the People are deprived of their liberties, secrecy in their political movements is generally a necessity; but a different policy becomes a People who can meet freely together, petition, remonstrate, discuss, vote, govern themselves. What they purpose, and do, if honest, need not be hidden. The more publicity, the better—the greater the responsibility, the more wholesome the restraint on individuals, the fewer the chances for corruption or imposture. We see no necessity for any secret order of politicians in this country; we do see much danger in it. Their object may be a good one, but exempt from just responsibility to Public Opinion, the constant temptation is to resort to the most corrupt practices.

Again: it is said, we know not with what truth, that every adherent is sworn to obey the decision of a majority, and this majority in all probability will be under the control of a few managers. We are inclined to believe the statement, for we know too how close to account for the alleged efficiency of an organization, which dispenses with the ordinary means of party unity and success. If it be true, how can its adherents vindicate such a rule? One of the dogmas which they were against, is that which asserts a right in an ecclesiastical majority—"the church"—to control absolutely the individual consciences of its members; and yet, if report speak truth, they submit to this monstrous assumption in their political order!

But, it is to the specific means adopted by this organization for the accomplishment of its object, that we must seriously object. They are, the prolongation of the period of Naturalization to twenty years, and the exclusion from any office of trust, profit, or honor, of all persons of foreign birth, or of the Catholic faith. If we misrepresent the Know Nothings in this respect, we shall be thankful to any friend who will correct us. The most authoritative exposition we have seen, was given in the series of resolves adopted unanimously at the imposing meeting of Know Nothings and Native Americans, held in this city on the 27th ult. It resolved as follows:

"Whereas we believe in the competency, ability, and right of American-born citizens to govern their own country; therefore,

look upon their Church as infallible, and the duty of allegiance as implicit. But they may be devoted to their religion, and yet very good and loyal citizens, recognizing their allegiance to the civil authority, and the duty of obedience to its behests. To exclude them from civil office, therefore, because they recognize the supremacy of the Church in matters of religious faith, is to persecute them for their religion, to war upon the rights of conscience, to institute a religious test in politics.

Of course we can have no such policy. It is unreasonable, anti-American, incompatible with the rights of conscience, and its tendency is, to produce dangerous collisions, or corrupt combinations between the Civil Power and the Spiritual.

But let not American Catholics forget that it is the extravagant and ostentatious display of such papers as the *New York Freeman's Journal*, and the *Boston Pilot*, and such teachings as those of Brownson, which have provoked in a great degree the prescriptive policy which we have just condemned.

The policy in relation to foreign immigrants and citizens of foreign birth, proposed by the resolutions, is unequalled, for unjust, and impolitic. We know there are some evils attending the rapid influx of so many foreigners in our country; but, after all, they are limited in extent and in duration, and do not touch the robust vitality of the nation. Certainly they are not so wide-spread and terrible as to justify a policy so crushingly proscriptive as that announced in the resolutions.

We said it was unjust. And is it not unjust, to close up all the avenues of profligate men who have demoralized themselves among us, and invested their all, of labor, talent, enterprise, and aspirations? They happened to be born in one part of God's earth, we are all thrown together, to develop a new world. Who gives us authority to turn upon our brethren, and say, We will hold all the offices, and you shall hold none? They have the same interest in the welfare and destinies of the country that we have. What right have we to deprive them of their just influence over them? "Equal and exact justice to all, is the principle of Democracy." A man born in Germany has been living here a score of years, has married, raised a family, and acquired property, has no earthly interests not invested in American soil. But I make him ineligible to any office of trust, influence, or emolument, while I claim for myself the right of citizenship for all! Is this Democracy, is this justice, is it decency?

Nor is it sound policy. Such proscription will not abate, but exaggerate ultimately the evils against which it is directed. It will naturally foster prejudices among aliens, make them feel as if strangers in a strange country, keep them in an attitude of antagonism to the country, drive them to cherish their nationality in opposition to Americanism, and provoke bitter, profuse, dangerous struggles between different races. What security would there be in war, with millions of aliens on our soil, leagued together by a common hate and a common interest, against a Republic which, while availing itself of their capacities of production, had excluded them from the most honorable rights of citizenship!

We are satisfied with the policy pursued hitherto by our Government in relation to immigration and naturalization. It is just, liberal, wise, and beneficent policy. It has made foreign immigration subserve the highest good, with the least possible evil. The man of foreign birth who comes to our shores, is welcomed as a man; after residence in the country long enough to give assurance that he has chosen it as his permanent home, and obtained a reasonable knowledge of its language and institutions, he becomes one of us, and under the constant pressure of the physical circumstances, political institutions, and moral influences around him, not suddenly or by coercion, he is inevitably Americanized. In this way, although we are receiving accessions to our population from abroad to the amount of hundreds of thousands every year, and although at this time there are more than two million persons of foreign birth among us, there is no person in the Old World, however ancient, however fixed in his habits, so homogeneous as the American People. Could this have been, had the proscriptive policy announced by our Know Nothing friends, been adopted at the formation of this Government? Never.

Finally, we object to this organization, because it ignores, or subordinates, the great practical question of this country, on the solution of which, more than on that of any other, depend its destinies—the question of Slavery.

As we have seen, its members are Pro-Slavery, or Anti-Slavery, according to locality. Sometimes the organization may help the election of an Anti-Slavery man, sometimes prevent it. If it aspire to a National existence and influence, it must take ground, *pro* or *con*, on this question, or its adherents will be false to their convictions. But, should it take Pro-Slavery ground, what will its Anti-Slavery members do? Or if Anti-Slavery, what will its Pro-Slavery members do? It cannot escape the rock on which other organizations, essaying to ignore or subordinate this question, have split.

Now, will earnest Anti-Slavery men place themselves in the hands of a Party which treats the question of Human Rights as a minor consideration? Will they be involved in entanglements which may tempt them to betray the cause of Human Freedom? Is it right, now, when under the provocation of the late Nebraska outrage, the North is shaking itself from its lethargy, old parties are breaking up, and a new party of Freedom, which promises to unite the political elements of the free States for the redemption of the Government from the Slave Power, is beginning to emerge from the political chaos, is it right for them to aid in thrusting another distracting question of less moment before the People, another element of discord and division in the free States?

No one, we think will misunderstand our position. We oppose native combinations, but we are no less hostile to combinations among naturalized voters. We oppose the political proscription of Catholics, but we are no less hostile to all political combinations under foreign influence, against our Common School System, or for any political purpose whatsoever. We oppose the institution of any religious test in politics, but we are no less hostile to the promulgation of any dogmas of spiritual or ecclesiastical supremacy in civil affairs.

If foreign and politico-religious combinations are got up, let them be met fairly and squarely, by open discussion and open voting, wherever and whenever they arise—but let no local or transient evils be attempted to be corrected by a permanent, national organization, founded upon principles and pursuing a policy more in harmony with the evils to be corrected, than with the institutions and interests to be protected.

In Canada, the ratification of the Reciprocity Treaty has already given an impulse to business, and the best feeling prevails there towards the United States.

The yellow fever is fast abating at Savannah and Charleston, and the cholera has quite disappeared from Pittsburgh.

### AN ABOLITIONIST DEVIATED.

What is an Abolitionist? Cannot the Public agree upon a fixed definition of the word, so as to preclude all embarrassment and misunderstanding? In the Christian Nation, an Abolitionist is defined to be, one who teaches slaves, or permits them to sit at meals with him—the only legal definition of the word we have ever known. But in the pulpits, on the stump, in Conventions, and in Congress, and in the columns of the newspaper press, it means anything, or everything, according to circumstances. An Abolitionist "is one who goes against the rights of the States and the guarantee of the Constitution, and would interfere with the slave trade, and for cutting the throats of the slaveholders." An Abolitionist is one "who would turn all the slaves loose at once." An Abolitionist is one "who writes, speaks, thinks, or feels, against Slavery." 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